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and settled where another village already existed.[1] In both forms, this new settlement was called the *lusungulu* village, 'the one which goes in front'; and the village which was left was known as the *gogo* village. This use of the term *gogo* (literally 'grandparent') for house and village had a common basic connotation. It expressed the concept of being left behind to look after something, the *gogo* house being passed over for the heir to the Paramountcy or chieftainship but charged with ritual and ceremonial duties; and the *gogo* village being left behind to take care of the traditions and generally also of most of the widows of the deceased Paramount or chief. Each *lusungulu* village eventually divided on the death of its owner, part 'going forward' with the new successor, part remaining behind. The main groups in the village which went ahead or which remained were the houses connected with the new Paramount or chief or *mulumuzana* and those connected with his dead father. In the chapter on houses (Chapter III, Part III) this process will be examined in greater detail.

The third related institution was the provision for guarding the spirit of a dead Paramount or chief and those of some leading *alumuzana*. A senior woman was always guardian of such a spirit and in her hut were kept the ritual objects: spear, wooden dish, baskets, fire-stick, which were used in sacrifices to the ancestors. The guardianship of the spirit of a dead Paramount was always associated with the village which had been his *lusungulu*. His corpse was buried on the edge of the kraal containing the cattle of the house where he had grown up, and this village became the *gogo* village associated with him, where his spirit was guarded in a hut, probably though not necessarily belonging to one of his widows. The recognition of such a woman guardian was a matter for selection and appointment, and was the responsibility of the senior men of the *gogo* house in that village in consultation with the senior men of the *gogo* house in the dead man's father's village. The concept of guarding the spirits of important men, and the means by which such guardianship was practised, will be more fully discussed in Part IV in connexion with the ancestor cult.

THE NGONI KINGDOMS AND AFRICAN POLITICAL SYSTEMS

In the final section of this chapter we shall look at the Ngoni kingdoms in their relationship to other African kingdoms and states such as those described in *African Political Systems*.[2] A methodological problem arises here. In this study a number of references are made to the Ngoni kingdoms in pre-European times, especially in connexion

[1] This form of the institution was found in densely populated areas and the incoming households dominated the original ones.

[2] Fortes, M., & Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (ed.). *African Political Systems*. O.U.P., 1940 pp. 9–23.

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'*Ngu Jere*' (it is Jere). Perhaps Zwangendaba and others took their clan name from this, seeing that they had become a great number. It is certain that the clan name of Jere is not known in Zuhland or Swaziland.

In the northern kingdom all the chiefs recognized as Subordinate Native Authorities were of the royal clan, and hence its political authority was widespread. It was noticed by the early missionaries in northern Ngoniland that the sons of Zwangendaba who were chiefs under their brother, the Paramount, showed some degree of independence in that they wanted to rule their own areas with the minimum of centralized control. The pre-eminence of the Paramount among the other Jere rulers was strengthened as time went on by the remoter kinship relationship of the other Jere chiefs to the Paramount. After Zwangendaba's death they were his brothers of the same father and different mothers. Two generations later they were farther removed from his kinship circle since each of their posts was inherited on a direct father to son principle. The political and social importance of membership of the royal clan tended to go in the direct line of relationship to the Paramount rather than to the collateral branches. Later, in Part III, we shall examine the social prestige of the *amakosana* (lt. children of the *inkosi*). It was the closeness of their relationship to the reigning Paramount which was the basis for their social prestige, though evidence showed that a sister or brother or child from a big house of a former Paramount was also given social recognition as an important personage.

The royal clan of Maseko in the central kingdom was also known in Swaziland. Dr. Kuper refers to it in connexion with the Swazi custom of cremating the body of the Maseko chief at his death on a rock by a river.[1] This custom was brought from the south by the Ngoni under Maseko leadership and carried out for each successive Paramount up to 1891. Among these Ngoni the royal clan had special relationships with other leading clans, but the Paramount did not share his political authority with any others of his clan. His chiefs were all of other clans, and Ngoni informants said that it was a deliberate act of the Paramount Mputa to exclude his brothers from political authority and from disputing with him the control of the kingdom. In the isolated position thus established for the royal clan, two other clans had a ritual relationship with the Paramount. One was the Phungwako clan which was custodian of the Paramount's 'medicines', known as the *tonga*. The other was the Ngoso clan which provided the companion for the Paramount whom I have called the 'royal shadow' (see below, pp. 61–3). Yet another special relationship with the royal clan was that of the Nzunga clan which had *cibale*, or brotherly relations, with the Maseko clan, that involved sharing the same avoidances and excluded inter-marriage.

The relationship of the Paramount to other leaders of the royal clan

[1] Kuper, H. *An African Aristocracy*, p. 86.

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your people as did your father before you. If a man be at fault, forgive him; but the sin of adultery cannot be pardoned.' 643

Habuya Dube, the official 'praiser' of Paramount Gomani II, had been present at the funeral of Cikusi, and he confirmed that the ceremony of accession was as described above and added these further details:

¶ At the time of the burning of the body of Cikusi, Gomani stood up in the smoke, standing on one leg with a shield in his hand. When all had been consumed by the fire, they began to open the waters and the grave-digger swept the ashes. And they picked up Gomani and went with him to the mound so that he should wash. When these things were over, we left the water to go to the house. We were dancing *ligubo* in the open place and Gomani had a headdress of *luve* [1] feathers on his head. And they followed him into the house, but all the people were dancing *ligubo* in the *bwalo* for a whole month. When the mourning was over, Bvumbwe Maseko said 'Now let us establish (*tiimike*) our chief.' So he was established. [766]

The 'standing on one leg' referred to in both texts is the position adopted by other East and South-east African people when resting supported by the spear, with one foot flat against the other knee and the shield in front of the body. Other men inheriting their father's position stood at the grave holding a spear, but only those of the Maseko clan, succeeding the Paramount in the direct line, adopted the position of standing on one leg. 'Placing' or establishing the Paramount was done before a large gathering of people with the warriors in full war-dress, described graphically in terms of the waving head-plumes and the thunder of the shields. It was evident that all discussion of who would or would not be a suitable Paramount went on within the closed circle of the regent and the senior men, and the people were presented with the chosen Paramount whom they acclaimed. [516]

The instruction by the senior men was a reminder to the new Paramount that, though his new powers were extensive and unique in their authority, he should not act like a cruel despot. There are references in the *Ncheu District Note Book* [2] to the passing-over of an elder brother of Gomani I on the grounds that he was of a fierce and cruel disposition, though, according to Ngoni informants, this man Mandala was a younger brother of Cikusi and an uncle of Gomani, and thus was not eligible to be Paramount. In discussing the type of man who was considered suitable to be Paramount, Ngoni informants always laid stress on the need for him not to be fierce and cruel. This pointed to an ideal type of Paramount and did not agree with European accounts of large-scale poison ordeals at Cikusi's court. The instruction to the new Paramount [183]

[1] Feathers worn only by the Paramount. [2] *Ncheu District Note Book*. 1891.

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slepping on mats they slept on grass until the required days were finished, and they scattered to their homes.

This account brings out certain elements in the ritual surrounding the *tonga*. The word *tonga* in the Ngoni language means 'rod', and was used in the very ancient folk tale *Intonga yetusi*, 'The Brass Rod'. There was no rod, however, nor anything representing one, among the medicines or ingredients which together made up the *tonga*. A descendant of one of the early 'guardians' of the *tonga* said about it:

[778]

« The *tonga* is the horn of a sheep, and the horn by itself has no real power, but there are other things which give it power like the rib of a lion.

It is clear that in the past the *tonga* was regarded as giving protection to the Ngoni people, particularly by providing medicine at the accession of a new Paramount when he needed medicine for strengthening.

Other informants from the Phungwako clan said that the *tonga* provided the medicine with which the Paramount washed at the time of *incwala*, the feast of the first-fruits. No one alive in the 1930's had seen that ceremony and the special songs had been forgotten. A tradition remained that the Paramount had to undergo seclusion and ritual washing with medicines before the first green crops could be eaten.

[178]

Throughout the references to the *tonga* there was no hint that it was ever worshipped or addressed in any way similar to the invocations to the ancestor spirits. It was clearly a 'medicine' possessing great power and guarded as a national treasure. The ingredients of the medicine were kept in a particular way, in a particular place, in the guardianship of a particular person. I have seen the ingredients, the place and the guardian, but I gave a promise not to reveal them. I was allowed to handle the objects and, after doing so, I had to perform the ritual act of washing my hands with cowdung. This was the form of ritual cleansing practised by the Paramount after using the medicines.

[515 783]

There were two ways in which these medicines were used by the Paramount to strengthen him on his accession. He washed in the kraal with the medicines whipped into a foam. The old men said that in ancient times the water for making the medicines had to be fetched from the sea. In addition to washing he had to eat meat in which the medicines were mixed. The majority of informants said that beef was used for this ritual eating, while others said that, as in the ritual for preparing the *tonga*, the meat taken was sheep. This ritual was said to have taken place for the last time at the death of Cikusi and the accession of Gomani I, though it was hinted that it had been performed at the accession of the Ngoni chief of the Maseko clan now living in Portuguese territory.

It was clear that the Maseko Paramounts made use of the *tonga* as a royal medicine both at their accession and in time of war. The reference

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The *inkosi* was all this time as if he were mourning and fasting. He was in the house. His body was painted with medicines, black, red and white; and round his loins was painted with black medicine. He was kept naked except for the cover of his foreskin. They fed him with the first-fruits mixed with medicines. They said that both the Paramount and all the people were fasting and under discipline at that time.

When the time for closing the *incwala* came, they again took the fruit *igumuzo* and threw it in among the dancers and called out '*incwala seimbonyiwe*', 'the *incwala* is closed'. Then the people began to separate and to go home, still with the songs on their lips, and on the way cutting juicy stalks of new maize and picking leaves of pumpkins, which meant that the new crops were set free.

These two fragments of the old *incwala* songs, which, like the war songs, were full of 'sounds' like *zi zi*, *ozi ya*, were the only ones preserved. They were known only by one or two old men among the northern and central Ngoni.

1. He comes the one who hates the chief.
   Did you not see him?
   You have seen him.

2. You who are rejected
   They are carrying him lightly
   To thrash him
   He, the stiff-necked one.

The Royal Shadow

The special relationship between a new *inkosi* of the Maseko clan and a member of the Ngozo clan was personal and individual. I have translated it as 'royal shadow', since in discussing the relationship with leading members of the Ngozo, Nzunga and Phungwako clans the word *mtunzi* was the one most frequently used. *Mtunzi* is the term used for the shadow of a person or object cast by the sun; also for shade from the sun; also in modern phraseology for a photograph, when it is generally used in its double form, *mtunzitunzi*. In the descriptions of this relationship there seemed almost a reluctance to use a definite term. The informants kept on saying that the Ngozo boy was *monga mtunzi*, like a shadow. While they enumerated the many things he did *with* the Paramount, they avoided giving him or his relationship any specific name.

This relationship began at the accession of a new Paramount and lasted until his death when the Ngozo man leaped on to the funeral pyre, and it was marked by certain special features. On the death of the old Paramount, and before the new Paramount was given the medicine for strengthening him, a boy of the Ngozo clan was sent 'to enter the chieftainship' with the Paramount. Many cattle from the herd belonging to the big house were given to the Ngozo family from whom the boy

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to its use at the *incwala* ceremony and dance was a reminder of the former belief in the close connexion between the health and strength of the Paramount and the fertility of the land and its crops, a belief which had its counterpart in the cremation of the Paramount and the sweeping of the ashes into the river to fertilize the land.

The *incwala*, or ceremony of the first-fruits, was of great importance among the Swazi, and the Ngoni 'took it with them' when they left the south. Among the northern and central Ngoni the tradition of the ceremony remained, but the practice was given up before the kingdoms were finally established. Cibambo collected from the old men in the northern kingdom the following account of what took place at the *incwala*:

¶ Among the dances of the Ngoni, *ngoma*, *umxindo*, *ligube*, *incwala* was the best and most important. They say it lasted about two weeks, or if it began when the moon was full until it became new again. When they said '*incwala* is closed', no one sings or dances it again; when it begins everyone sings the songs of *incwala* and no others. This dance belonged to the Paramount of the whole country. A description of *incwala* is difficult because it was given up long ago. Even the old people of today have never seen it.

It began in the middle of the month of *Intshesi* (January). Young men were sent to look for ripe food in the gardens by streams. The owners had not picked any nor was much of the crop nearly ready. They took some juicy stalks of maize, and pumpkins with their roots. They also looked for a wild fruit like a gourd, very bitter, which some people use to stir up their dogs to make them fierce in hunting and quick in scent. This fruit the Ngoni call *igumuzo*. These they mix with medicines and the *inkosi* eats it without the people knowing. The belief was that if the Paramount ate the first-fruits carelessly, or if the people were the first to taste the first-fruits of the year, there would be disaster for the *inkosi* and the country. After a month, when the crops were ripening, the *incwala* began, the crops not being completely ripe and no one having yet tasted the new crops.

In the month of February the *inkosi* announced that everywhere the *incwala ya'nkosi* should begin on such-and-such a day. Quickly much beer was cooked in all the villages by everyone. On the day the beer-making began, the dance began also. The word was sent round everywhere: *incwala seiguqulelwe*, '*incwala* is now opened'. All the people went to the central village of Elangeni, the village of Hlacwayo. They took crops which had been planted in December, *impala*, and added the first *igumuzo* fruit to them. Great crowds of people gathered at Elangeni and danced. Many were in the kraal but many more were dancing outside. All were dressed carefully. They danced with reeds in their hands or with the sticks of their shields. It seemed as though the song everywhere was the same. Women going for wood and water, and children and youths, wherever they went, the song was on their lips. In dancing the women were by themselves, and the men by themselves. They faced each other in the dance. They were bending their bodies backwards and forwards, and moving their necks and shoulders.

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643 644 762 766 came, 'to quieten them'. Thereafter this Ngoxo boy did everything with the Paramount. He began by washing with the royal medicine at the time of the accession. He drank beer with him, he ate with him, he 'stood with him' (*amaima naye*) on all important occasions, such as sending out the army and judging cases. He slept in his own hut which was in the *cigodlo*, where the Paramount's sons built, and when he married he built huts for his wives in that same section of the royal village. At the death of the Paramount, he danced the war-dance in full war-dress and leaped on to the pyre to perish with the dead Paramount in the flames.

[582] [602] Informants sometimes said of this Ngoxo boy that he was 'of one blood' with the Maseko clan. They described the relationship between the two clans as that of *cibale*, brotherhood, which excluded all possibility of inter-marriage. Between the Paramount and the Ngoxo boy was established a joking relationship, so that the Ngoxo boy could say 'good and bad things to the Paramount'.

643 644 It was clear that the ritual and social aspects of this relationship complemented and supported each other. The recurrent emphasis on the taking of medicine at the accession, on the participation in the war medicines, and most of all on the death on the Paramount's funeral pyre, were all evidence of this ritual relationship. Informants repudiated any idea of a scapegoat which involved protecting the Paramount from poison by eating before him. They reiterated several times that the Ngoxo boy did not eat *before* the Paramount; in fact he ate after him though sharing his food dishes. Surrounding the Paramount were other boys called *sicerbo*, who performed the duties of pages or personal servants. The Ngoxo boy was always distinct from them, and the distinction lay in the combined ritual and social relationship.

The concept of a 'shadow' was of something very close to a person, almost indistinguishable from the person himself. In referring to the Ngoxo boy in the terms 'he was as the shadow of the *inkosi*; he was as himself', informants emphasized the extreme closeness of the tie between the two men. It seemed as if the royal shadow existed to meet a need for strengthening the Paramount by giving him a second self. It emphasized also the dangerous sphere of life and action in which the Paramount lived, due to the medicines he had used, his powers to protect the land and its fertility, and his power to give strength to the army through the use of the *tonga* medicine. No one else in the royal family shared these dangers and there was inherent in the relationship of royal shadow to *inkosi* the sense of some security through a companionship where protective medicines were shared as well as the hazardous occasions for which they gave protection.

643 644 608 This intense and dangerous ritual relationship was buttressed by the social ties binding the Ngoxo boy to the Paramount. We have seen that between them as individuals there was that freedom of a joking

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Manga. It was a time of great emotional tension and strain, and the absurdities of the jester relieved the solemnity and formality of the visit. This jester was said by informants to be a man of the Moyo clan, who owed his position not to hereditary right but to a ready and witty tongue.

The death of the Paramount

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It is in the ceremonies at the death of the Paramount that we find some major differences between the traditional practices of the northern and central Ngoni peoples, which might be attributed to the separate groups in Natal from which they came. I was living in Mcakatha village in the central kingdom at the time of the sickness and death of Bambo Manga, the most important of the royal women among the central Ngoni. The ritual ceremonies at her funeral were said to be almost identical with those at the death of the Paramount, and I was able to check details of similarity and difference with old men who remembered the death of Cikusi, the last Ngoni Paramount in the central kingdom for whom the full ritual was carried out. I was not able after that to pursue further possible parallels and differences among the northern Ngoni. My general impression from informants was that among the northern Ngoni the ritual at the death of a Paramount differed from that of any other prominent man only in certain details of the period and form of mourning. Among the central Ngoni, as Rattray said in a note on the text which will be given, 'such funerals were more of a military pageant than anything else. All outward signs of grief were rigorously excluded.' I can confirm that from my observations at the death of Bambo Manga.

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When the Paramount became ill, a diviner was called to give advice. He might advise that a sacrifice should be made to the ancestor spirits. He might suggest witchcraft as the cause of illness. He might advise calling in a man to give medicine to the Paramount. When, in spite of sacrifices and treatment, the Paramount died, the announcement was made from the edge of his village: *Izulu lidilikile*, 'the heaven has fallen down'. Messengers were sent to all the chiefs and to all the *alumuzana* and other leading men. From the edge of each central village the cry was made, and each chief and *mulumuzana* sent his messengers to make the same announcement in each of the villages under him.

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Among the northern Ngoni the actual ceremony of burial does not appear to have been very different from that of any other important man, with one exception, that the Paramount, like other ruling Jere chiefs, was buried at the edge of the cattle kraal in a circular pit of the kind used when digging clay for mudding houses, on one side of which there was a niche where the corpse was placed in a sitting position, facing south-east. This burying in a circular grave on the edge of the kraal was the procedure which I witnessed at the burial of Bambo Manga among the central Ngoni (see below p. 75).

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Dr. Steele, one of the early medical missionaries in northern Ngoniland, was present at the burial of Mbelwa I and left an account of it which is quoted by Dr. Elmslie.[1] He spoke of the great crowds of men coming to mourn armed with spears and shields, and some with guns. They came in companies, as if they were the military bands coming for mobilization from the head villages. They marched first with their shields held high over their heads, and then laid them down and clasped their hands behind their heads, advancing towards and retreating from the grave and keeping up a continuous mourning cry of '*Baba he*'. Three days elapsed between the death and the burial. During that time two graves were dug, in order that all the Paramount's possessions might be buried with him or beside him. When the graves were ready, the kraal was cleared of all but the married men who had the head-ring. Meantime the wives of the Paramount, carrying his shields, were advancing towards the grave and retreating, a few steps at a time. They finally went back to their houses, dressed themselves in skins, and returned in single file on their hands and knees. They withdrew as the corpse was brought out and placed in the grave, and other women came with the Paramount's possessions, such as pipes, wooden head-rests and shields, and all were put into the graves. The men stood in circles round the graves with their shields over their heads.

Among the central Ngoni Rattray recorded an account of the funeral rites of Cikusi in 1891, which I was able to check with more than one old man who had been present. There was also the funeral of Bambo Mangs which I witnessed in 1937, where the ritual followed was identical with that described by the old men for the Paramount Cikusi, with one exception: that her possessions but not her body were cremated by a stream.

The chief differences between the northern and central Ngoni in the funeral rites at the death of the Paramount were that the central Ngoni Paramounts of the Maseko clan were cremated and not buried, and there was no public mourning, but instead a series of war-dances. There were two other distinctive features among the central Ngoni: formerly the individual known as the 'royal shadow' died with the Paramount; and from the time of the actual death to the time of the cremation there was a period of licence and lawlessness called *ciponde*. This latter phenomenon may have existed among the northern Ngoni, but I did not ask about it specifically when I was there, and I did not hear it referred to. I was made aware of it forcibly at the death of Bambo Mangs when my cook and houseboy immediately dumped all their possessions in my hut as the only safe place during the time of *ciponde*. Rattray's account of the death of Cikusi also mentioned this practice.

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In the traditions of the central Ngoni it was recorded that only the Maseko Paramounts in the direct line were cremated, and not the

[1] Elmslie, W. A. op. cit. p. 270.

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brothers of the dead Paramount who acted as regents. Thus Ngwana was cremated in Ulozi before crossing the Zambesi, and Mputa was cremated in the river Lichiningo in Songea in Tanganyika. This was confirmed by an informant of the Gama clan who were for a time under the central Ngoni Paramount in Songea and later were allied with the northern Ngoni. He said 'We killed Mputa, the *inkosi*, when fighting, and his people burned him because it was their custom in burying to burn.'

An old woman who came from Portuguese territory to see me in the central kingdom said that when Zintambira I died the Portuguese made them bury him 'in a box'. The onlookers in Mcakatha at the time of my interview with the old woman said 'Yes, they were not allowed to burn him.'

The central Ngoni leaders referred often to the ritual significance of the cremation of their Paramount, followed by the washing of the ashes into the stream 'to strengthen the land'. On my first arrival in the central kingdom I was questioned closely by several of the big *izinduna* and *abamnumzana* about the practice of cremation in England. They alleged that, under the influence of the local mission, the Paramount Gomani II had said that he wished to be buried in a coffin with Christian burial rites. They were much concerned about this, because of the effect on the strength and status of his successor and on the country as a whole. 'If he is not burned his children will not be honoured and will only be as *abamnumzana*. Is it right that another tribe, the English, should come and change our customs?' Great relief was expressed when I told them that Christians were cremated in England with full Christian ritual, and also when I told them that the ashes of one of the early Scottish missionaries in northern Ngoniland had been brought back by his widow to lie there.

The following account of the funeral of Cikusi was given to Rattray:

'When the chief of the whole country dies, they do not immediately inform the people of his own village. First they send messengers to other villages, to tell them 'the clouds have fallen today'. They do this because they fear, 'if we tell his own men first, they may go and commence to forage and plunder, as is done at a chief's death'. Then all begin to assemble, all the war bands from the different villages, shields in hand. They are decked out in their feather head-dresses, and wristlets and anklets of goat's hair; (the bands) glitter as if it were all for show and not for a funeral. Then some of the old men dress the dead chief for burial. The knees are bent against the chest, and the arms bent, the hands are laid against the cheeks, and they take a small gourd-cup and make him grasp it in his hand. When they bathe him, they take grass from a forest glade. They do not wash the body, but only the face. The water they use they do not draw from the well where people drink, but take water from a running stream. The body is not anointed with oil. Then they take the spleen of an ox and deck his head until it all glitters, and then take the

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643 766 skin of an ox, killed that very day, and bind him in it. But do not wrap it round his head, but only as far as the neck, and take the fat from the ox's belly and throw it over him. Then he is set on a stone and the cup filled with beer.

The body remains in the hut four days, and bands of warriors sound their shields without ceasing. When the body begins to stink, oil is brought and poured in a dish and set fire to. On the fifth day they lift the body, the child whom the dead chief had named as his successor leads, and all the relations follow, and the wives of the dead chief. The warriors [287] come in companies, village by village. Very old men bear the corpse. It is carried upright. When they come with it to the water, if it be running fully they do not dam it up, should it be low they dam it across with stones and mud, and down stream becomes quite dry. Then they begin to lay firewood on some rock in the stream, and bring the corpse and put it on the pile and take more wood and prop it up on the sides. When they have finished piling up the wood an old white-haired man makes fire, and when the hot ashes fall blows it into flame and sets fire to the pyre and the flames go roaring up. They place the child [and heir] where the smoke is blowing to. He stands on one leg, his shield is in his hand. When the fire bursts out in sparks the men clash their shields, and chant their war songs . . .

The shield of the chief, which he was wont to carry . . ., they burn on a fire on one side, and all his household belongings. When the fire has burned out, and the corpse is also consumed and turned to ashes, water is splashed over (the spot). Should the stream have been dammed they pull down the barrier, and all the ashes go down the *Mawi* (a river). When they see all is finished a sheep is killed, they take a wooden spoon and catch the blood and place it on the rock. Then they skin the sheep, cut it open, take the stomach, turn out the contents on the rock, and smear it over. The elders only eat the meat. When they have done this they go off to the village and kill many oxen, the people still keeping up the rolling sound with their shields. All the ornamental tufts of grass from the hut roofs belonging to the chief are removed. Next morning all the headmen [302] shave their heads, and then the people from the different villages. The widows put on the red head-bands.

Additional details and slight variations were supplied by Habuya Dube, an old man who was official praiser of Paramount Gomani II. He was also at the funeral.

"After some time Cikusi began to be ill and of that same illness he died. And we danced *ligube* for one month, and over a hundred beasts were killed. For a whole week [1] he was in the house, and then soon he began to smell because he was decaying. The grave-diggers, they of the Ngonoo clan, burned the fat of the cattle and roasted it on the fire, doing it as if to prevent the smell. And they made him hold a cup of beer in his hand. On a certain day we lifted him up and went with him to the water. Then

[1] Compare the previous account which gave four days between death and cremation. At Bumbo Mangé's death it was three days.

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we dammed the stream and made a pool and a mound. And we put him on a rock, and on top of him we put cowhide shields and left them so. And we put firewood above. Then Ngwazi Ngozo took fire and lit that fire. Then *ligubo* was danced and the women were singing. They sang songs of *ligubo* and the *amadoda* danced (*anagiya*). The owner of the country did not cry, no, and the big people did not cry. Only the wives and other women cried.

Habuya Dube added later that everyone came with one piece of wood and put it on the pyre; and that they killed a cow and took the fat and put it on the wood, and used the skin to wrap the body in.

In discussing the ceremony of cremation with informants among the central Ngoni, there was no reference to the suggestion made by Dr. Kuper, that cremating was a substitute for embalming to avoid the corruption of the body of the king. They regarded the act of burning as an essential element in the continuing strength of the royal line, since the heir stood in the smoke from the pyre, and in the continuing fertility and strength of the country, since the ashes were swept into the river. The concept was that the royal ruler had been strengthened with the *isuga* medicine, and thereafter his body and its strength was the symbol of the unity and strength and fertility of his country.

On the question of mourning or no mourning they were equally emphatic. 'Death cannot cut life' was an expression often on their lips during the funeral ceremonies of Bambo Manga, when great care was taken to carry out the traditional ritual as far as possible in every detail. They were shocked at the idea of mourning and wailing at such a time by any of the big people. The leading Ngoni women were expected to join the *ligubo* dances in the courtyard. Some old women of lower social rank in the village, together with the daughter of Bambo Manga, sat in the house with the corpse sobbing and crying '*Mayi, mayi*' and many of them became quite ill and others hysterical with prolonged sobbing. The leading Ngoni men were contemptuous of this display of grief. They admitted it was correct behaviour for her daughter because of the close kinship tie, but of the behaviour of the rest they said 'Ha, just like the Ntumba people.' The only behaviour which was considered correct was to dance in the courtyard openly before the house of Bambo Manga, or to slip off quietly home and rest before returning to take up the dance.

The traditional ritual procedure at the death of the Paramount, with the exception of the cremation of the corpse, I saw in all its details at the death of Bambo Manga. The corpse was placed in the same position in the hut as described at Cikusi's death, and was wrapped in a sheep-skin first with a cow-skin over, the spleen, gall-bladder and fat decorating the head and neck. The dancing of *ligubo* by the men with shields and spears, and by the women, was continuous from the moment of death to the burial, and afterwards whenever fresh companies from the central

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

643 kingdom and from Portuguese territory arrived to mourn. The grave
766 was made at the edge of the kraal and the kraal fence enlarged to take it in so that the cattle might walk on it.

643 In this chapter I have tried to bring together some of the chief
174 elements in the position of the Paramount, and in the performance of his duties, which were remembered by the old men as having been characteristic of pre-European days. Some of these features, as I have indicated, had disappeared in the 1930's. Others survived and will be illustrated in Chapter V. Chapters III and IV on the royal women and on the officials in the kingdoms will illustrate the importance of the leading women in the Ngoni kingdoms, and the hierarchy of officials already mentioned in Chapter II of Part I.

643 The texts of the praise-songs which conclude this chapter are given
533 because in the 1930's they were still recited in the royal villages and were a feature of all public ceremonies. Most of the allusions in the texts were obscure. Cibambo, who translated them for me and who consulted other older men, did not recognize some of the names or the meaning of the attributes. Some names corresponded with those given in Part I in the texts about the departure of the Ngoni in their two groups from Natal (see pp. 7, 8), such as the Nqumayo people whom Zwide ruled over, Nqaba who left with Ngwana, Nyathi who tried to prevent Ngwana from leaving. But in the way in which they were used in the 1930's these praise-songs had little meaning for those who heard them except as a form of salutation to the Paramount.

Praises of Zwangendaba, son of Hlacwayo

643 Zwangendaba whose intention it is to be black who denies it to be light.
533 Go away, let us go, you the rejected one.
539 We are like a man of the Ntungwa, a fat one; there the people die as fat ones.
Nqaba you must eat people. Leave the cattle.
Nqaba son of Lushwana, there was confusion.
There he is, there he is, where do they see him? They see him in the fences of his mothers.
One who is angry because the cattle have gone with the calves.
His great cunning overcomes the magic stones of the doctors.
I have gone away until I have seen Lebombo Mountains.
We are suffering on account of the great dispute with the Nqumayo people.
You are seeing the hoes which are waiting for you, the hoes which cannot be used for hoeing.
He saw it, the short grass, he was biting it hastily.
He saw it, the ditch, his foot slipped into it.
He who divided the water with a stick at the Zambesi.
He who remembered the cattle of the Balunjana.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

614 622 *muhumuzana* was not invariable. Some informants said that *ahumuzana* were appointed by the Paramount. Others said that if the ancestor of a Swazi clan was known by name to have crossed the Zambesi with Zwangendaba or Mputa then his descendant in the direct line was always a *muhumuzana*.

614 [769] It was the criterion of having a known ancestor and knowing the genealogy of the clan that was most widely accepted in acknowledging the head of a Swazi clan as *muhumuzana*. At the clan head village prayers were addressed to this ancestor, his cattle were sacrificed, and the names recited as far back as tradition and memory could recall. Later we shall see that there were said to be about 25 Swazi clans in the northern kingdom and 29 in the central. Among these about 15 in the northern and 12 in the central kingdom had head villages where the ancestor cult was performed. In the central kingdom several of the leading clans had their head villages in Portuguese territory, and therefore did not carry out the cult in the central kingdom.

554 614 In the hierarchy of the clans the Swazi clans were the acknowledged leaders. In village and national life this leadership was accorded to the royal clans and the clans of the chiefs, and was the reason for the respect shown to *ahumuzana* who had no direct political power. Only the heads of Swazi clans possessed *izitohozo* (honorific epithets) which commemorated events in the past history of the clan leaders. On all ceremonial occasions heads of Swazi clans, whether in national or in village affairs, took precedence over the rest when walking in procession, standing for dances, taking part in ritual, or sitting down at feasts. Certain [766] forms of burial, such as the use of a sheep-skin, and placing the corpse on a shelf in the grave, were observed only for members of the Swazi clans.

582 614 In arranging marriages, there was, in addition to strict exogamy within a clan, a prohibition on marriage between clans which had *cibale* (brotherhood) relations. In the central kingdom the royal clan, Maseko, had *cibale* with the Ngozo clan which provided the royal shadow, and with the Nzunga clan. The Nzunga and the Maseko clans shared the [762] same taboos, notably elephant and fish. As well as prohibited marriages between certain clans, there were preferred marriages between certain others. In general there was a preference for marriage between the families of leading Swazi clans. In the northern kingdom the Nqumayo clan had a preference for marrying into the Thole, Nhlane, Malulela and Pakati clans. It was alleged that formerly they could marry only into these clans, but in the 1930's exceptions were found in a number of villages.

614 The following lists of the names of Swazi clans were collected from informants in the two kingdoms, who were questioned closely about which names should be included under the title of Swazi. This was the grouping claimed by the Ngoni in both kingdoms. They said emphatic-

844 ready for burning, and generally cleaned up. The fire in the middle of the hut was rekindled to warm the mother and [262] baby, and gruel was given to the mother of millet flour, brought from the mother-in-law's hut where it had been cooked. With the help of the other women, the mother [853] washed her breasts with warm water and massaged them to make the milk flow, ready for the child to suck.

845 The other ethnic groups surrounding the Ngoni in Nyasa- [184] land considered it disastrous if a child was born face down or with the buttocks first, and twins were dreaded as ill omens. The Ngoni shared none of these beliefs and were particularly considerate for the mother of twins, often killing [262] a beast to give the mother meat and broth to increase her [853] flow of milk. The only notice the Ngoni took of the method of presentation at birth was that they gave a child a name [553] indicative of such a birth. They gave special names for the first and second twin born. If one twin died it was buried under the veranda of the hut and a smooth stone was placed [766] on top. This stone was used for sitting on, and the surviving twin was held on it when being washed.

Ritual and social uncleanness

846 From the time just before the birth took place the hut and 783 everything in it, and the woman and her new baby, were considered ritually unclean. If she had to leave the hut to answer the call of nature, she covered herself with a cloth from head to foot and avoided meeting anyone. She did no cooking herself until the ritual uncleanness was removed. Food was brought to her from her mother-in-law's hut or from her co-wives' huts, a special dish was used and washed separately, and she did not use her hands to eat with but a wooden spoon which was also washed separately. During the period of seclusion within the hut one of the senior women who helped at the birth slept in the hut with the mother and baby. No other young children were allowed to sleep in the hut, though they might come in to see the baby. All males

6:Rattray E,G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

the hut "towards the feet," and then they sleep together. Next morning a relation of the man who died comes and takes away the fowl, going with it to the house of the man's mother. The spirit follows the fowl. When the man has lived some time with the woman, and if he does not get on with her, he just leaves her, and his companions say, "He only went to get his bows." If the woman wants to marry any one else she can do so, without any further medicine. 765 587

III

THE FUNERAL OF AN ANGONI CHIEF

I. When the chief of the whole country dies, they do not immediately inform the people of his own village. First they send messengers to other villages, to tell them "the clouds have fallen to-day." They do this because they fear, "if we tell his own men first, they may go and commence to forage and plunder, as is done at a chief's death." Then all begin to assemble, all the war bands from the different villages, shields in hand. They are decked out in their feather head-dresses, and wrist-lets and anklets of goat's hair; (the bands) glitter as if it were all for show and not for a funeral. Then some of the old men dress the dead chief for burial. The knees are bent against the chest, and the arms bent, the hands are laid against the cheeks, and they take a small gourd-cup, and make him grasp it in his hand. When they bathe him, they take grass from a forest glade. They do not 766

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

•766 wash the body, but only the face. The water they use they do not draw from the well where people drink, but take water from a running stream. The body is not anointed with oil. Then they take the spleen of an ox and deck his head till it all glitters, and then take the skin of an ox, killed that very day, and bind him in it. But do not wrap it round his head, but only as far as the neck, and take the fat from the ox's belly and throw it over him. Then he is set on a stone and the cup filled with beer.

II. The body remains in the hut four days, and bands of warriors sound their shields without ceasing. When the body begins to stink, oil is brought and poured in a dish and set fire to. On the fifth day, they lift the body, the child whom the dead chief had named as his successor leads, and all the relations follow, and the wives of the dead chief. The warriors come in companies, village by village. Very old men bear the corpse. It is carried upright. When they come with it to the water, if it be running fully they do not dam it up, should it be low they dam it across with stones and mud, and down stream becomes quite dry. Then they begin to lay firewood on some rock in the stream, and bring the corpse and put it on the pile and take more wood and prop it up on the sides. When they have finished piling up the wood an old white-haired man makes fire, and when the hot ashes fall blows it into flame and sets fire to the pyre, and the flames go roaring up. They place the child [and heir] where the smoke is blowing to. He stands on one leg, his shield is in his hand. When the fire bursts out in sparks the men clash their shields and chant their war songs—

766 528 531 533

III. "This thing (that has befallen),
Have you heard these things, wife of an old man?"

6:Rattray E,G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

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"Wage war on the *Afo*,
Hayo, hayo, ho,
They have left him;
They have left him in their midst."

"*Humba*, the mighty medicine man, has gone with them,
He has swallowed a magic horn, has *Humba*."

766 The shield of the chief, which he was wont to carry (*kugwira*), they burn on a fire at one side, and all his household belongings. When the fire has burned out, and the corpse also is consumed and turned to ashes, water is splashed over (the spot). Should the stream have been dammed they pull down the barrier, and all the ashes go down the *Mawi* (a river). When they see all is finished a sheep is killed, they take a wooden spoon and catch the blood and place it on the rock. Then they skin the sheep, cut it open, take the stomach, turn out the contents on the rock, and smear it over. The elders only eat the meat. When they have done this they [231] go off to the village and kill many oxen, the people still keeping up the rolling sound with their shields. All the ornamental tufts of grass from the hut roofs belonging to the chief are removed.

765 IV. Next morning all the headmen shave their 766 heads, and then the people from the different villages. The widows put on the red head-bands. Then they allow three days to pass, and on the fourth every one assembles and the new chief stands at the village court on one leg. 643 One old man steps out and says, "Do you hear, your new chief is so and so" (naming him by his clan-animal name). Then every one shouts, "Hail," and the thunder of their shields is heard, and all around is a mass of waving plumes (trans. *biriwiri*). Then the elders

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

846 she rises early to go and fasten the belt on the infant. Should the man not have a second wife, the one to put the belt on the child is his (the man's) sister. The man does not immediately see the face of his child; some day these same old women make him take it in his arms [hands]. The father then makes them a present of beads.

854 852 301 IV. When they notice the infant is beginning to grow his bottom teeth and to smile at people, the elders tell the father that, "Now you must bring the child into the village." The child's grandmother ties up beforehand some *lizango*. She begins with a little strip of calico, and rolls it round and round the medicine charm and along with a piece of string; then takes a little piece of skin and sews it over this, and takes some beads and sews them on the skin. The mother cooks some relish beforehand. That evening the husband and wife sleep together (this is "to bring the child into the village.") She cuts off the old belt the child is wearing, and puts on the new one with the *lizango* medicine in it, some more of the medicine, similarly tied up, is placed under the infant's head. In the morning she takes the relish to present to the two old women, and then takes the *lizango* she had placed under the child's head and ties it round his neck, and then takes a belt of beads, interspersed [189] with little wooden charms, and adorns the child. When in time the *lizango* belt breaks, they do not look for it or replace it. In the event of an infant dying before he has been "brought into the village," ●766 they bury it in some open glade, near the edge of some stream, its funeral is attended by women only. Should a man tramp over the spot where the child [153] is buried, he "has taken" the disease known as *nyesi*. Such a grave is known as *nsenye*.

6:Rattray E,G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

and take the liver, and lungs, and stomach, and set them down beside the beer, and cut off some meat from a fore-leg, and roast it, and cut off a piece, and give the head of the *Kuka* hut, and cut another piece, and the chief eats it, and another his old men eat, and then they begin to cut off bits for their children. The rest of the meat is put in a basket, and next morning is cut up.

III. When the propitiation of the spirits is finished the chief tells his headman, "To-day you must cook some relish, and give it to all the people, and finish the ceremony in connection with the exodus." So he (the headman) sleeps with his wife, and in the morning she takes the relish to give to the chief. All persons of lesser importance come and take theirs from the hut, and any one who is at a distance at the time has his put aside. Now the ceremony is over, and the villagers again resume cohabitation with their wives [broken off since the beginning of the ceremony]. One month passes, and then a great quantity of beer is cooked all over the village, and they have a dance that at the new village the ground may become trampled and hard. When some farther time has elapsed, they cook beer, to demolish the huts of the dead, that were left standing at the old village. At the new village, when a man dies, the first one to do so is buried at the old village; when one of the village elders dies, he is buried at the new settlement, and thereafter all who die are buried there.

6:Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

789 hut with, and set it (the basket) down at "the
782 head" against the wall, and say, "There is the ox we have killed for you." Then they bring all the meat and put it in the *Kaka* hut. In the morning the elders rise early to cut it up; every one eats of it.

XIV

THE FUNERAL OF AN NSUTU

•766 I. When the chief of the *Asutu* dies, people are not told at first; they hide the fact from them lest his attendants run away. On the day on which they make it known, they seize beforehand youths and maidens, and then every one is told that the chief has died. Then every one assembles and goes to the grave, and they dig and dig a very large "village" (cave) in the grave. When they have dug this cavity, they take the youths and maidens and shave their heads and rub them with oil, streaming down, and red clay. The youths have already their bows in their hands, as if going to the dance, though they are going to die. Then they lift the corpse and make the youths go in first, and the corpse follows. When they come to the cross-ways,
766 they take one of the young men, and sharpening
782 a bamboo, hammer it down through his head with a stone, and the stake grips (lit. bites) the ground. He is sitting upright as if alive, and he is made to hold a bow in his hand. When they come to the grave, they commence to break the legs of the others, and pour the juice of chilies over their heads. (And the reason they do this is because they fear

6:Rattray E,G-5 (ca. 1900) 1907 FR5 Ngoni FR5

their relations may dig them out, and place them in some other country.) And they throw them to the back of the cave, and take the corpse and lay it on top of them. Then they begin to fill in, the ones in the cave are groaning, "Alas, alas!" When they have finished filling in, they go to the water to bathe. When they return to the village they dance.

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XV

THE CHIEF OF THE KUKA AND THE SON-IN-LAW

I. The chief of the *Kuka* hut and his son-in-law once hoed a garden. When the maize grew up, the father-in-law told his son-in-law to build a watch-tower. Then the father-in-law went off and forged some arrow-heads, and gave them to his son-in-law, saying, "There are some arrows, you must keep a look-out with them in the garden here." And the son-in-law received the arrows, and remained at the watch-tower there. One day the wind came and flattened down all the maize, and his father-in-law came to walk on a round of inspection in the garden, and then he saw that the wind had laid the maize, and he clapped his hands and said, "Oh, to-day I see wonders, those arrow-heads I just forged for him to keep by him [and look at]." And then he went up to the watch-tower, where his son-in-law was, and asked him, saying, "Those arrow-heads I forged, I just forged that you might sleep with them on the watch-tower here?" And the son-

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7: Hodgson G-5 (1926) 1933 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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N 765 [262] On the second day, also, the *mwini malire* takes cows or a goat according to his means, and divides the flesh among the mourners. The bones may not be gnawed, as this would be considered equivalent to eating the dead man, but they are put into an *upande* basket and thrown away into the bush at the end of the feast.

M N [764] [177] On the third and fourth days the male relations surround the grave with a fence of *tsekwa* grass known as *chilira*, which is sometimes plastered by the women with mud. The Achewa are now beginning to imitate this custom, and also that of wearing *sinthando*. Both tribes plant *nkhuli?* trees about the graves in order that the dead may have shade.

N 766 765 237 A chief is not buried in the common graveyard, but in the village just outside his hut, and a chair is sometimes placed inside the *chilira*. One of his senior relations kills a goat, and the new prospective chief ties a rope along the handle and blade of a knife, with which he cuts a horizontal strip of skin round the quarters of a goat, and wears the strip for two or three months as a belt, the tail hanging down behind. With the same knife the widows cut off the false hands together with a small piece of adjacent skin, through which they thread a string, and then bind a false hand on each wrist and wear them till the end of the period of mourning. The rope must remain fastened to the knife throughout this period, at the end of which all are buried together.

VIII.—Mental Characters.

1. *Reincarnation and Spirits* (Chewa).

M 769 [776] [622] [778] [262] *Mizimu* or spirits are invoked as intermediaries between man and God (*Chauta*), and each village contains a hut for the spirits of past chiefs, to whom prayers are generally made because they are powerful and because they are known to everybody. Some of the larger villages have two huts, one for the spirits of men and the other for the spirits of women. A man may also make offerings to the spirits of his own family in his own hut. When the green maize is ready for eating, the people may not taste it until their headman has taken a cob, cooked it in his house and placed it in the spirits' house, where he claps his hands and thanks the spirits for the crop. The cob, like other offerings to spirits, may be eaten next morning by children below the age of initiation.

M 775 If, as frequently happens, a traveller strays—as we should say, absentmindedly—when following a route which he knows quite well, it is the work of a spirit which has been annoyed by him. On one such occasion a police constable of mine, who had been sent to the neighbouring station while his child was ill, found himself wandering several times from the main road, and knew thereby that his child was dead, and that its spirit was troubling him because he should

[824] * *Euphorbia*. These are commonly grown, quickly propagated and long lived, and so they serve also as a sign to mark the grave long afterwards. In the Mlanje District the Anyanja and other tribes sometimes plant them in under-fifth because they are supposed to be obnoxious to termites.

Livingstone, *loc. cit.*, p. 505, writing of a tree in the Shire Highlands in 1859 they found all Mang'anja villages surrounded by an impenetrable hedge of [illegible] euphorbia. He continues: "This tree casts a deep shade, which would render it difficult to have grass to take also at the villagers inside. The grass does not grow beneath it, and this may be the reason why it is so universally used, for when dry the grass would convey fire to huts inside; moreover, the hedge acts as a fence to all flying sparks.

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159 In 1828 Zongendaba, who had met with Mzilikazi near the border of Portuguese
167 East Africa, fought him over a petty disagreement, which it is alleged was a dog fight.
173 Mzilikazi beat Zongendaba, who moved on into Portuguese East Africa between the
578 Limpopo and the Sabi Rivers and united himself with Manukuse; this was the year of
643 Tshaka's assassination. In 1831 we find Manukuse and Zongendaba midway between
648 the Limpopo and Zambesi Rivers.

In the year 1833, in which Manukuse attacked the Portuguese and drove them out of Espirito Santo (Lourenco Marques), Manukuse and Zongendaba disagreed and a fight took place, after which Zongendaba and his following, accompanied by Mhlabawandabuka, a brother of Manukuse, continued the migration north.

In the following year, 1834, on the border of what is now S. Rhodesia, Zongendaba broke with Mhlabawandabuka and proceeded in a north-westerly direction, where at the Ingwe-Kwini River he met the Ba-Loui or Ba-Nyai, whom he destroyed; their chief, Mambo, was killed, some thirty miles from the battlefield at Intaba-Zi-Ka-Mambo.

[805] In November of the year 1835, at the time of an eclipse, a passage was found across the Ukwembe River (Zambesi) at Manyerere on the south bank, nearly opposite Zumbo on the north bank in Portuguese East Africa. At the crossing a dispute arose between Zongendaba and an induna, Ngubi Mawko, who with a small following remained on the south bank and, it is stated, crossed over the following year near Tete.

Zongendaba, after crossing, halted for a period whilst his impis looted the surrounding country; his camp was built at Mboko. About 1839 a movement in an easterly direction was made, it is said, by Gwaza Tole, who was a brother-in-law to Zongendaba and his
[645] Chief Councillor, because, acting on Zongendaba's instructions, he had put to death one
[689] of Zongendaba's wives for infidelity; Zongendaba followed. The direction was changed, after passing to the west of the present Fort Jameson, to a more northerly one passing the head-waters of the Bua River en route.

In 1840 at Chuta, Mbelwa or Mombera was born, son of Zongendaba by his wife Umnene. Thence on to the Rukuru Valley.

In 1842 Zongendaba arrived in the Fipa country, and the next two years were spent in raiding the surrounding country of the Sukuma and Mafwa.

159 In 1845 Zongendaba died. It is stated that he had never seen or been seen by a
173 European, that he was fierce with his soldiers and his wives who, on the least excuse, he put
643 to death, that he was very kind and considerate to his captives, and that he listened to two men only, Gwaza Tole and Njokwane. He died at Mapupo in the Fipa country
[764] and was buried in a black ox skin near the Nyimbuni River. On his death bed he gave
[425] his assegai to his eldest son and heir (by his Great Wife, Swaya), Ntabe Mpezeni, who was then in his twentieth year.

159 (1) Lusiwawa Nqumayo was the wife of Zongendaba—"The Great Wife, Inkosikazi". She was born before the accession of Tshaka, about the year 1800, in the tribal area near
173 St. Lucia Bay. She was Zongendaba's "great chosen wife" and died during the great
562

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He

159 was a son of Zongendaba and died after Mombera. After Mombera's death he was
173 acting chief for some years until Chimtonga was appointed.
643 (18) The following is a list of Indunas and chiefs who crossed the Zambesi in
November, 1835:—Chief Zongendaba, Chief of the Ngoni. Chief Gwaza Tele, Chief
173 Councillor. Chief Njekwane, Chief Military Induna. Indunas: Zulu Gama, Military
167 Adviser; Mgunkulu, Induna Zindemba Regiment; Somfula, Induna Somfula Regiment;
55 Mgoi, Induna Majekwane Regiment; Ntabeni, Induna Zindemba Regiment. Chief
643 Gwaza Tele was also Captain of the Machaya Imiti Regiment. Chief Njekwane was
695 Captain of the Zimpofu Regiment. Regiments:—Majekwane, Zindemba (black cattle,
701 white spot), Somfula, Machaya Imiti (red and black hide, white spots), Zimpofu. Wives
of Zongendaba who crossed over:—Chibwaya Mkhalapi, Great Mother; Sowera Nqumayo,
595 Great Wife; Umuzwe Naima, mother of Mombera; Nqutu Nzima, mother of Mtwalo;
543 Mazwiko Mkhalapi, mother of Mzukuzuku!; Chigomazw, Ngulawo, Ndunya Mbanzima,
Mambazw Gama, Vuyukhazi, Mwachuma, slave wife and rain-maker!. Daughters:—
Lomagazi and Mpangela. Sister:—Qushiwe.

A further list of Zongendaba's wives who may or may not have crossed over:—
173 Nthumazw, Buzyamazya, Zin-Khabi, Nqumbezi, Nkhabezi, Nobanya, Maleti.
167 Brothers and half-brothers of the chiefs who crossed over:—Ntabeni, Mgoi, Somfula,
55 Mabuzyabuzya, Ngoya, Umkwane, Uhalle, Ukhongwazw, Undima, Mtiyazw, Lomagela.
543 Chief Diviner or *Inyanga*:—Manyonkobe.

(19) Zongendaba's sons:—Ntutu Mpezeni, Mtwalo, Ndebenkulu, Mombera, Mzolazi, Mwakale, Mwamba, Makukuwa Njobwa, Mpezemba, Mzukuzuku (?) Kakuya, Jadazw, Sikazw, Chigomazw, and others.

(17) Chief Mpezeni Jere's (Ntutu) wives:—Nyenkeha Mazyopa, Athongwa tribe;
895 Lepoko Phakati, mother of Tsingu Jere; Chota; Mtonga, mother of Mafolmazw Jere;
Mtiawa Soko, Makalanga tribe; Mazwaw Soko, Makalanga tribe, mother of Mgwazu Jere;
Maiwapo Hara, Makalanga tribe; Kukuya Twala, Sotsi tribe; Ntombiyimbi, First Wife.
727 Eldest Son:—Tsingu Jere; married Nkuchwa. Both were shot in the Rebellion of
1898. Grandson:—Chitwa Mpezeni II; married Augustina; heir, Pontifino.

159 (18) Ntutu Mpezeni Jere was buried near the cattle kraal in Lepoko village near
173 Fort Young, Fort Jameson District, in 1900.

166 Lepoko, wife of Ntutu Mpezeni I and mother of Tsingu was buried near the cattle
kraal in Lepoko village, in 1901.

727 Tsingu Jere was shot after court martial and buried near Chipinga old camp near
Mount Hill, 1898.

Nkuchwa, wife of Tsingu Jere, shot by Lt. Poole's troops in the Vubwi Valley; buried
on the top of Mount Hill, near Christie's Farm, in 1898.

173 Other Ngoni Regiments:—Mayungo (Ntutu Mpezeni's regiment); Mashilongo,
704 Mavimbo, Mahita, Zinyoka, Mauchu, Mazyisa, Zinkondo, Machona, Mahora, Mazyera,
Malewa, Kambayenda, Mabwikubezi, Chimalilembalembe.

(19) The *isi-bongo*[1] *Jere*," appears to have definitely not been used prior to the year 1835, and from information received it is extremely unlikely that it was in general use until after the death of Zwangendaba. The chief *isi-bongo* up to that time appear to have been Kumalo, Ngumayo, Tole (said to be the eye of an ox), Xaima, Gama, Mkhalapi, Ndhlovu, and Nkosi.

The *isitakazelo*[2] now little used were Ndaba and Ntungwa.

The language spoken by the Ngoni was closely allied to isi-zwazi.

The Paramount Chief, Mpezeni II, still receives the royal salute of "Bayete" on all official occasions and in his own home.

(20) Ba-Pale people. It is stated that, when the Ngoni first met these people, they carried long spears and shields made of game hides, and they could converse with the Ngoni in isi-zwazi, which was not the language of the Ba-Pale; when they spoke their own language they were not understood by the Ngoni. The general opinion of the old indunas is that they were Bullom people. They supplied excellent fighting material to the Ngoni impis and were treated as equals.

Interesting Note re death of Lobengula.

Lobengula, Chief of the Ama-Tebele. It is stated as follows.

Lobengula crossed the Zambesi at Manyerere Drift and arrived at the Ntengwizwi Uha Nsewa village on the Lutembwe River in January, 1894. He was carried by an Ngoni party who had been sent for that purpose. He was a very heavily built man with a large protruding belly, and breasts like those of a woman heavy in milk. So cumbersome was he, that he had to be helped to move about from one place to another. He had a great pipe in which he smoked hemp. If he passed the pipe he would talk, but if not it was a sign he wished to be alone. When Chief Mpezeni visited him he used to crawl on his hands and knees to greet him. The day Lobengula died the rock on the Sanjika Kopje split and fell and all the great Ngoni indunas mourned. Sanjika is on the road between Fort Jameson and Fort Manning. I have seen the split and fallen rock.

It is not known where Lobengula was buried; as he was a fugitive from justice, the secret was closely kept. It is said he died shortly after his arrival from the Zambesi in 1894. This information was given by an aged Ngoni councillor, named Ropa, who resided near Fort Jameson, and died in 1927. This story is but little known and usually all knowledge is denied of this subject.

List of people who, being the oldest living Ngoni, attended a meeting held on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, 19th, 20th and 21st of January, 1933, at the Paramount Chief's village to discuss the history of Chief Zwangendaba — Dunsilire John, Zwangiwe Ntshanga, Ndamanyire Ntshanga, Ndhlovu Nkosi Nkosi, Hlubi Tole, Ntshe Edwardd Jere, Mabwalakhe Tembo, Mwale Ndhlovu, Katanda Mwanyama Mchewere, Kapendula Jameti Mvula, Mwalikhe Ntshanga, Chimangachewe Ngulawo, Chimwe Mwimba, Mwalwe Jere, Mwalwenga Ntshanga, Chief Mpezeni Jere II, Chief Mwakhumwa, Andrew Kapalamanga Jere, Jerome Edwardd Nkosi, Mwimba Kangwere Ntshanga, Pongani Mvula, Adriyano Phiri, Edwakhale Gertrude Mkwate, Chingakhalani Tembo, Njiya Mvula, Ngwaga Ntaga Jere, Mabwwe Ntshanga, Mwaki Lukhalo, Kpembwe Tembo, Adwakhwale Ndhlovu, etc.

[1] [isi-bongo = sib name -- Analyst]

[2] [isitakazelo = honorific epithets -- Analyst]

787 rising out of the lake, this was the spirit of the fathers returned.
[771] Now they had never heard before of men with white skins. But one day when they were burning the Henga villages, suddenly they came on David Livingstone and his party on their first journey of exploration on the Lake. More than once I have heard them tell how this wicked hag had cursed her enemy and said that beneath that tree the lightning would strike her, or some other terrible prediction, and there came a strange fulfilment.
795 Such curious accidents gave to witch-doctors and others a
791 dangerous power over the people. And in spite of their constant failure to bring rain, or ward off sickness and death, their reputation was kept alive by the memory of one or two ancient successes, and by playing on the terrors of the people. Unfortunately these superstitious terrors led to miserable atrocities.
695 The witch-doctor was always called in to detect crime which was not patent. He brought his poison pot with him. He might accuse whom he pleased, and the only way the accused could clear himself was by drinking the poison. If he became sick and vomited then he was innocent. If he died he was guilty. When
● 766 a chief died his spirit was not allowed to go to the other world alone. A great fight was organised and many were killed, that they might be with him. Or the women and slaves were taken and buried alive with him in the pit.

845 The twin children and those who cut their upper teeth before
849 their lower, or any who showed any abnormality were buried alive in the sand of the river, or were cast out to the hyenas.

These atrocities are happily becoming matters of history. We
179 seldom now hear of them, and when we do, it sends a thrill of horror through many of the people.

Now a great change is coming over the people. They are the
[793] only independent tribe in Central Africa, living under their own chiefs. But the old military days have passed away, and with them much of the great power of the chiefs. The old men see it, and shake their heads, but do nothing to readjust the state. But the young chiefs, most of whom are readers and Christians, have set themselves energetically to try and remould their government.
[634] Our most capable and powerful sub-chief, who is himself an elder of the church has recently established a regular hut tax, and has formed a police force. His police bring criminals to justice, enforce his judgments, prohibit the people from cutting down trees, and during slack seasons go through the villages, and where

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909)1910 FT7 Yao FT7
Maravi FR4
Ngoni FR5

M 587 765 [833] marry, his new wife would die. A widow after her period of mourning of two or three months, if sought in marriage, sends her suitor to her sister, who arranges for some other man to have coitus with the widow, after which she is ready to marry the suitor. Without this her second husband would die should she have committed adultery.

M 767 622 After the funeral of a chief the headmen of the district call the chief *Mdzukulu*, who buried the late chief, and hand him a red blanket and tell him to cover the man who is going to be chief. This he does, at the same time hitting him hard on the head. This action is received with shouting from the women, who put ashes on their heads. He then sits surrounded by his brothers and sisters at one end of the open space, the headmen at the other, the leader of whom gives a sermon.

M 766 At Chipoli on the south-west arm of the Lake the corpse is wrapped in a mat and weighted, and then sunk in the lake. The same practice is followed occasionally at Monkey Bay; it is done with the idea of avoiding interference by *Mphiti*.

Lepers and persons dying of small-pox are not bewailed; the former are thrown in the bush for *Mphiti* to eat, as it is thought the disease is spread if they be buried. A man accused of *Mphiti* and dying of *mwavi* used to be burnt on a pile of wood.

N 622 ●766 [*Notes on Angoni.*—In the case of a chief the body was kept ten days to be sure of death; it was arranged in a sitting posture covered with cloth, the eyes open, a stream was dammed up with stones and then a pyre made below the dam and the body burnt, the waters were then let free to wash away the ashes. The new chief stood from morning to afternoon on one foot wrapped in the smoke of the pyre.]

M 195 769 In speaking of the dead the expression, "the late so and so" (= *nsimizi . . .*), is used. A man will not refer to children that have died in the presence of his wife, as she will cry either from grief or because it is the custom so to do. Some burial grounds are not approached.

Artificial Deformations.

M 304 [856] At birth pressure is applied to the head of the child to reduce any deformity which may be present—no deformation is attempted. Various practices of piercing nose, lips, and ears have been and are in vogue.

M [178] Piercing of the upper lip and subsequent wearing of a thin stick, sometimes a bone (*ntona*), until the aperture was large enough to admit a much bigger ivory or wooden lip-ring, solid or otherwise (*pelele*), was practised among the Nyanja women, but it is going out and is now seen only in the old women. Occasionally the lower lip was pierced in the same way. At the present time among the

Y [304] Machinga, Yao, and many Nyasa women, the left *ala nasi* is pierced in the same way when a girl is eight years old. When adult a metal or ivory solid ring is worn (*chipini*). A woman piercing the right *ala nasi* would be laughed at and called a fool.